

Thowancus

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Mr. Richards's

Oration on Independence.

July 4th, 1795.



AN
ORATION
ON

The Independence of the United States

OF

Federate America ;

PRONOUNCED

AT

Portsmouth, New-Hampshire,

July 4, 1795.

By GEORGE RICHARDS.

*Gens, quæ cremato fortis ab Illo,
Jactata Tuscis æquoribus sacra,
Natos-que, maturosque patres
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes ;
Duris ut illex tons-a bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opus animumque ferro.
Hor. Lib. IV. Ode 4. Lin. 53—60.*

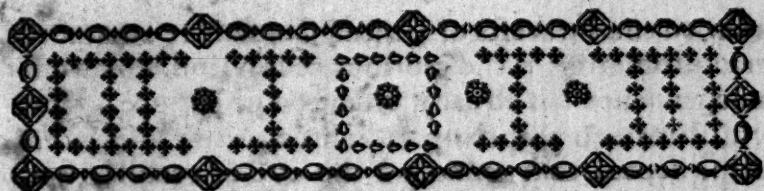
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1795.

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ORATION.

Venerable Fathers of New-Hampshire, Respected inhabitants of Portsmouth, and Honored Fellow-Citizens of the United States !

THE spirit of this auspicious morn disdains an affected consciousness of mental inability. The Genius of Independence frowns with contempt on the mean cant of pitiful apology. Indulge me, therefore, as a native, free born American, to wave the fashionable modes of address, on these public occasions. The orator of the hour, whom partial friendship has appointed, neither deprecates censure in the language of servility, nor seeks for applause by the arts of adulation.

This honored, thrice honored day completes the nineteenth anniversary of our political freedom : it constitutes an august era in the annals of time, well worthy of being held in perpetual remembrance to the latest generations : it founds an illustrious epocha in the history of man, highly meriting most grateful inscription, on the living tablet of the raptured heart. Momentous indeed, were the causes which impelled America, to pronounce the sovereign fiat of eternal separation from Great-Britain : all important are the consequences that have resulted therefrom,

from, to the interests of United Columbia; and more than astonishing, is the glorious revolution, which our independence has already produced in Europe. But whilst we are preparing to contemplate those interesting scenes that crowd on the eye of recollection, yet animated by the light of intellectual life, is it possible for us to forget the mighty toils of our illustrious progenitors? Progenitors ennobled by the innate dignity of godlike virtue, and rendered immortal from heroic deeds of patriotic worth. Shall upstart pride unfeelingly say, to their sainted forms, *avaunt*? Or wanton levity forbid their hallowed gaze upon "the feast of reason and the flow of soul?" Rather, let filial gratitude give honorable place to these ancient worthies, and respectfully rising up, pronounce them blessed forever. The broad topstone on the dome of freedom is indubitably ours: the present generation brought it forth amid the morning shout of rising millions, crying liberty, liberty, before it: but the adamant of which it is composed, was hewn from that rock rooted pillar, on whose base, our renowned predecessors poured libations of philanthropic blood. The materials for the temple were collected by the virtuous dead. The handy work of ages past has been completed by the meritorious living. Our fathers laid a foundation for the building, in the wilderness of old: we their sons have finished the noblest edifice on earth, and superadded a magnificent capital.

That philosophy which makes a rest at secondary causes, and implicatively denies the agency of divine providence in nature, is only a refined species of literary atheism. Every national revolution made to revolve on a similar axis, is fashioned by the hand of political infidelity. The light within light of the chariot by the river Chebar, withdraws from the center of its opaque body, and in the same ratio
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that the self moved wheels roll rapid on, the glowing car emits darkness visible. The first settlement of this country has been attributed to an ardent love for civil liberty, mingled with a spirit of restless discontent, and fostered by visions of ideal independence; but the warmest attachment to legislative immunities, the strongest influence from turbulent passion, and the remote prospect of future sovereignty, if combining all their powers together, would have been totally inefficient, to accomplish the Herculean labors of elder time. The glorious, the godlike toil of early days demanded principles of a nobler nature, and energies of a sublimer order. It was the violated rights of conscience, tremblingly alive unto Jehovah, which colonized this howling, desert waste. It was religion that inspired the sons of faith with celestial fortitude, and caused the barren wild to blossom before the daughters of hope. A persecuting Herod, jealous of regal power, winged the knowledge of christianity beyond the Roman Eagle's most expanded flight. A bigotted Laud, inebriate with pontifical pride, spread the triumphs of the gospel to the western bourne of day; and both were made use of in the mysterious œconomy of Heaven, by Him who educeth good from ill, to eventually subserve the adorable purposes of Prince Messiah, against whom, they vainly rose in impious arms.

Come, let us repair with solemnized step to the brow of yon promontory, whose adamant arch hangs dreadful over ocean, and wait in retrospective idea, the arrival of our venerable ancestors. Upborne on the bosom of the faithless deep, their fragile skiff has ploughed the watery realm, for more than sixty days. Amid the war of contending elements, the roar of embattled winds, and the dash of tempestuous waves, they ride unhurt. At length,
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the ark of religious liberty and of civil freedom rests before the Ararat of this late discovered world, and fathers, mothers, babes prepare to land. What vast variety of untried wretchedness, what painful scenes of bitterest sufferance throned in inhospitable shores, and bid to the wearied, weatherbeaten Argonauts an unsocial welcome ! Emerging from the forest's deep recess, see warlike hordes of savages rush on ; their quiver is an open tomb ; their feathered shafts the messengers of fate ; behind them, prowls the hungry tenant of the wood, impatient for his prey ; before them, glides the crested serpent armed with deleterious fangs. Even nature seems arrayed in robes of wrath. Stern winter mounts the pinnions of the northern gale, and binds the vegetable tribes in iron bands. Gaunt famine slowly creeps athwart the waste, and marks the living for her future own. Pale sickness hovers round the wild, and shakes distemper from her feverish robe. Grim death, relentless wields the burnished scythe and sweeps destruction's desolating besom round. One half are numbered as the victims of these potent foes : they sink beneath the tawny Sachem's nervous arm, bow to the chilling rigors of the stormy clime, or faint and perish for the lack of bread. Say, can the Israel of this western wilderness sustain such complicated ills, bravely resolve to enter on the promised land, nor cast one longing, lingering look on Egypt left behind ? Yes ! verily, they did. Collected in themselves the few survivors stood, unmoved by approaching danger, and strong in reliance on the arm Omnipotent, smiled at the King of terrors. Not the invenomed arrow that smote unseen, the yell terrific of the painted warrior, nor the dread rider on the pale horse, appalled their dauntless courage. Firmly they persevered, nobly they conquered, greatly they triumphed, and rose from every fall, like the fabled son of Antæus, in renovated

vated vigor. Soon did the dark haunts of barbaric cruelty assume the polished tints of civilized life. Social institutions gave confidence to hardy enterprise. Wise systems of policy secured the unalienable rights of man. Purity of morals strengthened the family compact, and genuine piety imparted her divinest energies. Thousands and tens of thousands heard the goodly report : their souls, already wearied with the murders of Europe, panted for repose : these stretched the strong pinion of the raven who returned no more, and yet, they entered as doves, at the windows of a second ark : from thence migratory flocks continually spread themselves abroad : the rustling of their wings was heard in every part of this wide extended continent : on the cloud capped summit of the lofty mound, or along the windings of the humbler vale, they built the incubating nest secure for ages yet to come, and in the short period of one hundred and fifty years, populated an immense territory of one thousand five hundred miles in length, and upwards of three hundred in breadth. Christianity is incompatible with hatred : it magnanimously forgives : it generously forgets. The uplifted scourge of civil tyranny, the flaming sword of religious intolerance and the torturing rack of unhallowed zeal, were remembered no more. A father's naked inhumanity was covered by filial affection, with the broad mantle of celestial charity ; and the meek children of an austere step dame, preferred her genuine interests, above the chiefest joys of independence. To that very power which had exiled our first parents from the paradise of Europe, they fondly looked up for future protection, and virtually pledged constitutional allegiance, so long as the cherubimic sword of law should wave around the tree of liberty. At the same moment, greatly daring to resolve that no laws should be made or imposed

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upon them, but according to the free liberties of the free born subjects of the state and kingdom of Great-Britain. Royal charters established this declarative act, asserting the rights of man. The seal imperial of Albion confirmed the majestic veto of freedom, fixing a decided negative on despotic encroachments. Nearly a century and a half elapsed in the mutual confidence of harmonious intercourse, and if a transient cloud overshadowed the political horizon for a moment, it as instantly vanished before the illuminating sun of rational discussion. Reciprocal interchange of kind offices heightened common friendship into fervent love, and sublimated fond affection, to almost, religious veneration. How oft did America jeopard her life on the high places of the field, and ward the descending blow aimed at a father's head ! While the heroes of the elder world pressed onward to defend Britannia's favorite child, nor returned back their glittering swords empty, from the death of fallen invaders. The treasures of the mother country and her infant colonies, formed one family purse, ever open to the warlike exigencies of the threatening hour, and the exports from England, with the returns of America added more to the commerce of the former, in sixty-eight years, than she had gained from an universe beside, in nearly seventeen centuries. Thus tenderly connected by the most endearing sympathies of blood, the undivided fellowship of the protestant religion, and all the cementing bonds of one common interest, they both, at once commanded the admiration, and excited the envy of the world: their most formidable enemies felt the inefficacy of contending with irresistible power, and the laws of stern necessity imposed humiliating tranquillity on jealous foes. But scarce had the tempest of battle died gently away, or the rainbow of peace bounded the triumphs of the desolating flood, when distant hemispheres

were

were suddenly involved in partial obscurity, and cloud on cloud condensing total darkness, quenched the light of social amity. Hear, the tidings, O earth, and be astonished ! Hear it, ye nations, and tremble ! The demon of avarice whispered on the ear of a profligate and abandoned ministry, that illimited opulence pervaded every corner of America, and the ruthless fiend of despotism armed illegal power to seize the Hesperian fruit. From one iniquitous plan of lawless taxation, they pressed on to another still more abhorrent of right. The honest recompense of toiling industry was rendered precarious. The property of the subject wrested from him without personal or virtual consent, and life itself threatened by the Dionysian sword impendent. Eleven long years, patient forbearance turned the cheek to the smiter, and breathed the mild language of, "Sirs, why do ye this wrong ?" In vain, did the united wisdom of America, concentrated in a general Congress, superior to the Amphictyonic council of Greece ; superior to Rome's august Senate in the meridian glories of her republic, petition, remonstrate and appeal ; plead the sacred authority of written prescription ; reason from the Magna Charta of Great-Britain, or urge the unsundered rights of social compact. Placemen, pensioners and hungry court parasites turned away the royal ear abhorrent ; closed the eye of the monarch against the blaze of conviction, and steeled the heart of a Brunswick to the cries of immutable justice. Not the eloquence of a Chatham rivetting attention ; not the lightnings of a Barré, flashing truth itself ; not the thunders of a then independent Burke, blasting the minnions of royalty, nor the combined efforts of an illustrious band of virtuous peers and unbought commoners, roused the sleeping nation to a sense of the dangerous precipice on which tottering liberty stood trembling ; nor convinced awide awake, venal majority,

majority, that the gulph of remediless ruin yawned voracious, beneath the slippery feet of empire, sliding down the summit of imperial grandeur. Even Franklin, who arrested the fires of heaven in mid career, who rent the sceptre from the tyrant's grasp, plead for the rights of his native country unnoticed; and the paltry hireling of an insolent privy council, poured unmerited contempt on the incontestable data of the political Newton. Unconditional subjection was demanded at the point of the bayonet. The myrmidons of ministerial vengeance swept resistless to enforce degrading submission; and on the ever memorable nineteenth of April 1775, General Gage let slip the dogs of war, for the plains of Lexington, and cried to the Cerberean brood of havoc, speed. The wounds received on that day, were felt as an electric shock, vibrating through and through America. Every nerve in the one body of the continent was feelingly alive to sensibility of pain. The dying groans of expiring freemen woke the offended majesty of injured fellow man, to sleep no more. As yet, averse to imbrue the crimsoning hand in fraternal blood; as yet, actuated by principles of filial affection; as yet, governed by sentiments of long cherished loyalty, Congress made one last, one generous effort, to repress the future waste of life, to hush the whirlwind of the passions kindling into rage, and smooth the rising billows of destructive conflict, foaming to the skies.

The mild petition, bold remonstrance fail,
Two potent demons, lust of power and gold,
Whose checks ne'er turn'd at human misery pale,
The reins of Albion's realm triumphant hold:
And mightier deeds of wrong, first penn'd in human blood,
Rush on the winged winds athwart th' Atlantic's purpling flood.

Reluctantly goaded to magnanimous resistance,
sternly impelled to adopt the *prima ratio Regum*, our
political

political fathers rallied round the altars of their country ; lodged an affecting appeal to the Righteous Judge of the whole earth, and sounded the animating clarion of self defence: their dauntless constituents, the free born sons of free born fires, heard the awful summons to the field, and obeyed the awakening mandate of freedom with cheerful alacrity. Veteran age snuffed the battle from afar. Rising youth felt the glow of manly valour. The thundering of the captains, the neighing of the war steed, and the shout of armies, were ravishing as the music of the spheres. Liberty or death, was the impassioned cry of the moment, and wafted on the gales of heaven, it flew with the velocity of sound, to the bourne of the continent. Bear witness to these truths, ye glorified spirits of the patriot dead, who on the clouded heights of mount Breed, ruled the vollied storm of fate. Attest the language of reality, thou proto martyr in the cause of philanthropy, immortal Warren, "who lived like Hambden, and like Sydney died : " nor be thou absent, bold Montgomery, hero of the north, whose verdant laurels were gathered on the plains of Abraham, fast by the kindred tomb of conquering, dying Wolfe. From this hour, pregnant with the fate of unborn myriads, all hope of accommodation vanished. The day was marked too deep in the red calendar of war, with conflagration and the sword. The Rubicon was passed. Britain had seen Pharsalia. Henceforward, Bellona lashed on her fiery couriers with redoubled swiftness. Fell discord forged harsh thunders, loud responding to the brazen trumpet's tone. Death smote his gorgon shield terrific, clashing on the din of rattling arms. Brothers rose vindictive against brethren. The adverse parent and the hostile child met frowning. The meekest charities of life enkindled into wrath. The very milk of human kindness turned to inveterate gall. But why attempt to paint the moral mis-

chiefs

chiefs of war? They furnish a melancholy theme, too melancholy for this joyous day. No strength of speech describes the embittered woes of kindred strife, for when the cause is forever suspended, the heart rending effect too frequently remains, and even amid the choral songs of fraternized man, on this auspicious hour, some poisonous drops by the infernal adder shed, still mantle in the golden bowl of bliss. Here then, we give a generous tear to all the wounded sensibilities of time; nor make a longer pause where nature's self recoils. Rather let us press forward where the unfurled standard of liberty points the path, and follow the varying fortunes of America through the hard contested field of battle, until independence crowned her glorious efforts with complete success, and peace seated freedom on the top of a rock, above the smiles, above the frowns of kings.

Inexpert in the horrid science of systematic murder; unfurnished with the dreadful apparatus of military death; embarrassed by the want of competent internal resources, destitute of friendly assistance from the belligerent powers of Europe; and deficient in silver or gold, the essential *vis vitæ* of war, America greatly rose to meet the advancing Goliath of nations, and hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the most potent enemy on the terraqueous globe; an enemy, whose garments had been rolled in blood from the days of Cæsar; an enemy whose mighty men had been clothed in the scarlet of the slain from the morn of imperial existence; an enemy, whose unconquered armies had carried terror beyond the pillars of Hercules; an enemy, whose invincible navies had winged the laws of conquest to either pole; an enemy, whose credit commanded the monied interest of an universe, pouring riches into full exchequers, and stranger still to tell, and harder to believe, whose

whose opulence bought whole hecatombs of fellow men to colonize the land of death. What is there god-like and heroic, which liberty cannot effect? Who shall set a limit to the triumphs of freedom? What tyrant chain the energy of public virtue? If confident in the justice of their cause, and consequently perfect in the bond of their union, there is nothing, humanly speaking, impossible unto them. Such was the confidence of these devoted colonies. Such was the union of a proscribed confederation. America, in the humble character of the greatly oppressed, could look up to the throne of the Most Highest, and reverentially wait for his crowning blessing on the means of self defence; whilst darting her eagle eye from the orient chambers of light, to the shrouding billows of the western main, she saw a decided majority of her gallant sons, clothed in the whole armour of conscious rectitude, and panting to signalize Spartan valour in behalf of all that was dear. Servitude or death, were the bitter cups which Great-Britain had mingled in the frenzied hour of political distraction. To have drank the deleterious draught of the envenomed bowl; to have quaffed the dregs of slavery, in hope to ward the stroke of dissolution, would have been the avowed commission of high treason deliberately levelled, at the present, the future majesty of man; and finally, the nefarious deed must have been accompanied, by a dastardly, base attempt at voluntary national suicide. Indignant public spirit scorned to reason on either dread alternative. Self love, "the essence of the social frame," spurned at the former, and dashed the latter on the ground. Not the fame of British victories blazoned in the armorial bearings of a thousand generations; not the experience of her generals trained in the school of Frederic, falsely called the great; not the discipline of her armies, secretly moved by some invisible automaton; not the terrors of the Hessian

sian name trumpeted as individual Alexander's, nor
 Até hot from hell, perched on the savage Biped's nod-
 ding plume, induced a momentary pause. The spe-
 cious language of pretended conciliation; the pro-
 mises of a court grown grey in duplicity; the se-
 ductive arts of golden bribery, and regal smiles, fair
 fraught with blooming honors, led not to the hesi-
 tance of a dubious second. In the council of the
 Union, on the field of glory, Columbia's guardian
 genius was ever present. Liberty in person took
 charge of this new found world: around the plains
 of Lexington she spread the covering wing; on the
 pale cheek of Warren imprinted her smile celestial;
 twined a chaplet of glory for the dying Montgo-
 mery; rode onward with Lee to the burning wastes
 of the south; and inspired the bosom of Moultrie
 with more than mortal bravery. Her eye ever
 brilliant and unclouded, marked the path of wanton
 desolation as she passed, and engraved on the marble
 of indelible infamy, as with a pen of iron, the ever-
 lasting record of Gothic barbarity. She saw a per-
 fidious Dunmore arm the Ethiopian against his mas-
 ter's life: read the orders of Campbell, for loosing
 the sons of Altamaha: kenned the mandate to
 Carlton, awakening the northern Sachem: and be-
 held Charlestown, Falmouth and Norfolk ascend in
 flame, to the pitying skies. Famine, sword, fire
 stood before her in all their horrors: death, ra-
 pine, rape, frowned on her view. One hundred
 ships of war were encircling her coasts, from the
 waves of Piscataqua, to the floods of St. Croix.
 Forty thousand Britons and seventeen thousand
 Hessians stood on tip-toe, to spring the mine of
 fate, and overwhelm her most favored residence, the
 future asylum of persecuted man, in awful, undistin-
 guished ruin: one interesting moment on the banks
 of the Schuylkill, deliberative, she paused: Then
 laying the right hand impressive on her high beating
 heart,

heart, majestically raised the left towards heaven, and slowly poizing the trump of freedom, in mid air, blew the blast of Independence with Archangelic energy, shook the throne of tyranny to the center of its base, and roused the nations of Europe from the Lethean slumber of ages.

Hail to the day ! First born of nature's prime !
 Who bids not to the noon tide morning, hail ?
 Then virtue, freedom, energies sublime,
 Op'd the dark dungeon of that horrid jail,
 Where bound for ages past, with despotism's brazen chain,
 Despairing victims groaned out hated life in pain.

From north to south, from east to west was heard,
 The sovereign fiat of the power beloved :
 Each separate State confirm'd the sacred word,
 And all Columbia's millions high approved ;
 While gladdened time renewed his hoary age on earth,
 And seal'd this glorious hour, creation's renovatèd birth.

But scarce had the assenting voice of exulting millions ratified the high decree of independence, or the raptured eye of patriotism gazed on her virgin form for one extasied moment, when the bursting tempest of ten-fold war poured impetuous on. Disappointed ambition summoned unforgiving vengeance to the contest. Who did not tremble for the holy fire so late enkindled on the altars of Columbia ? Who felt not for the safety of the priesthood ministering before the hallowed flame, a flame more pure than Persia's purest fires, though borrowed from the lamp of day, inscribed to the Lord of light, and fed by all the aromatic odors of the east ? These were the times that tried men's souls. Monarchial indignation had not worn a form so furious since the proud Chaldean maddened on the plains of Durah. Patriots and heroes were purified in a burning fiery furnace, heat seven times hotter than ministerial wrath had ever heat it : they came forth unhurt : no change of principle could pass upon them ; and yet, how intense were the sufferings of the tortur-
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ing moment ! Herè, Britain's invincible phalanx moved resistless in front. There, Brunswick's impenetrable column closed a guarded rear. The armies of liberty were borne headlong before the rushing torrent. Rout followed ruin wild. Disaster hung upon defeat. Victory abandoned the eagle of America and hovered on the rampant lion's crest. New-York, York-Island, forts Washington and Lee successively fell. Rhode-Island was taken. The Achilles of Columbia made prisoner. Canada recovered, and the Jerseys abandoned to pillage, murder, rape, and all the plagues of diabolic warfare. The wounded, gasping on the field, imploring quarter, was denied the boon. The captive drank the cup of poison, ministered as medicine to the fainting soul, and breathed his last in agonies. The weeping female, yet an infant, mourned her violated chastity, and wept for life, the vile attempt of ruffian power. The father, shielding virgin modesty, was stabbed. The mother, clasping virtue to her bosom, met the bayonet's keen point. Bones hearsed in death were scattered to the winds of heaven. The tomb's dark vail that hid the sleeping fair, was rent in twain. Temples devote to God, Lyceums dedicate to science, and the muses still retreat, were wantonly profaned, trampled in the dust, or changed into midnight brothels and lascivious haunts. Heavens ! What a catalogue ! One half remains untold. A nation's penitence sincere for ages ; an empire's tears for centuries to come can never wash away such stains. "Accusing spirits who flew to heaven's high chancery, wept as they delivered in the sum of guilt. Recording angels were forbidden to drop a tear, and blot out even one iota." Verily, verily, as ye have done unto others, it shall be recompensed unto you again. The bolt of moral retribution may for a time be suspended on high ; but accumulating vengeance by lengthened delay, it shall

shall eventually fall with an increased momentum, and whelm the guilty with a sudden, with a fatal blow. Britannia! Thou art weighed in the balance of eternal justice, and Tekel is written upon all thy walls. The scourge of nations is found wanting of humanity.

At this melancholy period, the deficit of an efficient, permanent Continental army was most sensibly felt. As the term of individual enlistment expired, the soldier sought his native home; and few could be prevailed upon to tarry beyond the definite hour of service. Even Washington, the illustrious commander of the conquered, conquering armies of his country, for one moment suffered the burning shame of almost total dereliction. Resolute, he wheeled his proud spirited courser in front of an advancing foe, and while all the generous passions harrowed up his mighty soul, appeared to wait an honorable death from some friendly, adverse bayonet. Is there a bosom in this assembly that does not beat to arms, at the painful idea of a Washington's being necessitated to immolate his precious life, before the deserted shrine of public honor? Even female sensibility presses the delicate hand involuntary on her side, searches in the affecting impress of the scabbard for the manly sword, and feelingly demands of her throbbing heart, where was I at that awful crisis? Hear it, O America and rejoice, Washington lives. Some confidential friend, whose name deserves the brightest niche in the pantheon of worthies, turns the obedient war horse round, and saves the godlike charge he bore, "the soul of peace, the conquering arm of war," from an untimely fate. Superior in every other moment of his life, to the impressions of adverse fortune, and only stamped as man in the passing instant of agonized feelings, the Epaminondas of the new world, triumphs at Trenton, conquers at Princeton, and

and at the head of seventeen hundred continentals, circumscribes as many thousands, within the narrow line himself had drawn.

These brilliant actions roused the genius of Columbia from the languors of despondence, induced by having bled at every pore ; rekindled the martial ardors of America nearly extinct throughout an inundated Continent, and prepared the United States for the threatened severities of the spring campaign, when the very soul of ancient chivalry, the courteous knight in Britain's wild romance, promised to dance the ladies into gilded chains, and coaxe the gentlemen to hug those fetters which his masters forged ; or overwhelm the fair beneath the tomahawk's descending weight, and pour on vile rebellion's crest the storm of savage ire. Burgoyne ! proud boasting, playful chief ! Rest thou awhile on Hudson's flowery banks, and with thee rest thy pompous proclamation, penned by some fairy sprite of Rudar's isle. The matchless prowess of thine arm, and the attic eloquence of thy tongue are impotent as the magic spell of Areskouï, or the midnight incantation of the Indian auruspex. Not Frazer's gallant intrepidity, Ackland's daring valor, nor Rhaidhaschel's impassioned bravery ; not the military boast of Albion, Hesse Cassel's strength in war, nor Abonaquie's giant brood shall save the laurel withering on thy brow. New-Hampshire's, hardy, honorable yeomen, breathing of that spirit which M'Clary breathed at Warren's side, brave as those troops a Cilley and a Dearborne led on Monmouth's plains, and dauntless as her earlier sons who fell with gallant Wiswal, or with daring Lovewel fought, shall bound the fancied conquests of the dying Baum, and hold a British army in the toils which Stark first spread, till Gates and Lincoln sweep the encircling compass round, and sternly say, no farther shalt thou come.

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Till this moment, every power in Europe had poized the scale of neutrality. Burgoyne's descending weight, descending with ten thousand troops, preponderated the balance. Howe's partial victory at the forks of Brandywine, the subsequent loss of Philadelphia, with the final captures of Mud Island and Red Bank, the conflagration of Esopus, and the divided honors of Germantown, no longer shed a malignant influence on the American character at foreign courts. These sinister events were justly regarded as the casualties of the hour, and not as the effects of national imbecility, or the want of martial spirit ; and at the dawn of the ensuing year, France concluded a treaty of amity and alliance with the United States, witnessing the sincerity of her professions, by the speedy equipment of a strong squadron, with proportionable land forces, destined for active service in America. The zealous, though unsuccessful efforts of the Comte D'Estaing, from whose venerable temples the demon of jealousy rent the chaplet of nautical glory ; and against whom in-auspicious elements fought in their courses ; deserve to be remembered with national gratitude to the latest period of time : while the more fortunate exertions of the Counts de Grasse and Rochambeau, in conjunction with the armies of the Union, commanded by the one Generalissimo of America, must call forth the warmest eulogy of kindred spirits, at present on the theatre of achieved blessings, and ensure the animated applauses of the remotest posterity, until in the nervous language of the celebrated J. M. Sewall, " the moon veils her rays, and the sun lose his path way in heaven." The capitulation of Yorktown, and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army, amply compensated for every painful event, and added a brilliance to every pleasing circumstance which preceded this glorious termination of an eight years war. A victory of so important

tant a nature freshened the verdure of those laurels which his Excellency gained at Monmouth; threw a radiance round the tomb of Pulaski, who fell before Savannah; covered the capture of Charleston, on whose untenable ramparts Lincoln smiled at famine, restored to Gates the wreath of ancient fame, borne away from Camden, by a flying militia; perfumed the bed of honor, where the Baron de Kalb reposed on eleven wounds; encircled the head of Greene with brighter rays of triumph at Guildford and Eutaw; and almost obliterated the remembrance of Fairfield, Norwalk, and Bedford burnt; with a great part of the Jerseys ravaged a second time. Virginia made a mart of military plunder; the Carolinas overrun by systematic thieves; and the garrison at fort Griswold inhumanly massacred by an infamous parricide, who robbed his country, murdered her sons in cold blood, and basely deserted his friend, the all accomplished, still regretted André.

Thus closed the most momentous contest, which had ever summoned warlike legions to the field. On the part of America, it was not the lust of dominion; a wish for the extension of commerce; or the fever of increasing, yet unsated cupidity, which beamed as the motto of her hostile banners, or was heard in the shrill tone of her defiant clarions: she nobly contended for liberty, the grand birth-right of human nature: she drew her unfleshed falchion in the cause of illimited philanthropy: the three-fold energies of public spirit, virtue and perseverance were proud to follow in her train: heaven graciously rewarded her magnanimous efforts with complete success, exceeding sanguine expectation; established her independence by the return of an early peace; necessitated the recognition of her sovereignty from the nations of Europe, and rendered her no less respectable abroad, than secure at home. At this delightful period of our transitory

ry retrospect, on mighty labors and on countless toils, the hero's noblest monument, the patriot's richest meed, it becomes us to make a heart-felt pause, most gratefully to acknowledge our manifold obligations, unto Almighty GOD, whose right arm was so often made bare for our temporal salvation. To him, we are indebted for that spirit of wisdom which distinguished the supreme council of America; for the remarkable union that pervaded so immense a body as three millions of people; for the astonishing patience, fortitude and bravery, exhibited by the troops of the continent; for the final friendly disposition of France, Spain and Holland; and above all for the continued preservation of one inestimable life, no less essential to the future well being of his country in peace, than the strength of battle in the day of war; "his head a senate, and his arm an host". And here, what praises are due to the magnanimous commander in chief of our armies, who scarcely ever had a permanent and effective corps to second his designs; who frequently was obliged to borrow money for immediate public exigence on his own personal credit; who was often impelled to raise temporary supplies by extraordinary impress, which his soul abhorred; who was followed to victory by a few faithful Continentals, shivering in December for the want of a blanket, and marking the footsteps of conquest in the dripping blood of freemen, empurpling wintry snows! The monumental column of enduring brass; the luminous record of the historic page and the animated pathos of eloquence, with the mellifluous strains of poesy, are incompetent to preserve the memory of his illustrious achievements, and fail in their attempt to delineate his godlike character. The human bosom forms the living archive in which his virtues are feelingly deposited; his deathless deeds are inscribed on the tablet of the heart, by the pencil of gratitude, and the name of

of Washington shall live in the memory of man, until the stars of American glory quit the radiant sphere of heaven, and waste their evening fires in lighting nature's final tomb. Nor are the patriot forces of the Union less deserving of the impassioned Io pæan, breathing fervent thanks for meritorious service. Principles of honor nerved the officers to incredible valor and unparalleled sufferings; taught them to seek the post of danger, insensible to fear, and forbade their retreat from the embowelled mine, charged with sudden death; a noble spirit of generous emulation governed their conduct; the united band of Masonic brothers started together for the self same prize of independence, and no one outstripped another in the course of glory. All personal considerations of a selfish nature appear to have been swallowed up in the most ardent *amor patriæ*. The endearing charms of domestic felicity, the sweet converse of the wedded fair, the lovely prattle of the beauteous babe, were cheerfully resigned at their country's call; and even the paternal feelings, the conjugal sensibilities, and the friendly affections, exerted their attractive influence in vain, when America shouted for the battle, and cried to arms, to arms. Animated by the glorious exemplar of their adored chieftain, they towered above the height of human excellence, and having risen to the achmè of celestial virtue, the fruit of immortality is their high reward; they shall live forever.

An equal, if not superior magnanimity, distinguished the regular troops of America, and pervaded the inferior grades of military life, whose lot forbade the animating influence of refined sensibilities, and damped the elevating hope of preferment above subaltern rank. A strong moral sense of duty, united with an invincible love for their country, blended the character of the passive citizen, with
that

that of the active soldier. Even in the hour of frenzied desperation, when poverty, nakedness and famine severely experienced in the camps, and bitterly felt by suffering kindred charities at home, imperiously necessitated them for a moment to shoulder their arms and wheel to the right about, they unanimously spurned at the golden lures of Sir Henry Clinton, and delivered up his secret emissaries to instantaneous punishment. Men actuated by such independence of soul, so patient in the most trying scenes, so incorrupt in the day of temptation, are superior to all the satellites of despotism, between the van of Nimrod on the plains of Babel, and the rear of combined tyranny desolating Europe; their virtues are recorded by a heaven taught Humphreys in the melodious numbers of his fraternal page: their sufferings have been eternized by an independent Madison, in the living pathos of Demosthenian eloquence: and the noblest panegyric of the patriot army is comprised in this laconic sentence, these troops were worthy of a Washington's command.

Ofi have their limbs the frozen earth compress,
 While round their heads the watry torrent pour'd :
 Thick clouds the curtain to their couch of rest,
 When the bleak wind and midnight hail-storm roar'd :
 Or else advancing with the solar ray,
 Their spirits flam'd to meet the light'ning's glare,
 In hostile realms of ever burning day,
 Sad haunts of death, and plagues, and putrid air.

These hallow'd truths, inscrib'd on glory's roll,
 And writ in blood on honor's purple vest,
 Shall future warriors born of kindred soul,
 With conscious pride and martial zeal attest.
 Whilst veteran forms shall oft recount the tale,
 Of gallant troops uncloath'd, unpaid, unfed,
 Who stood the summer's heat, the winter's gale,
 Nor turn'd their bosoms from destruction's blade.

Is it possible for imagination in her boldest flight,
 to conceive of ought on earth, which can impress a
 more radiant lustre on those luminous rays that al-
 ready

ready encircle the laurelled brows of the illustrious chieftain, and his brave compeers in fame? What virtue herself almost despaired of, Washington greatly effected. His voluntary resignation of the momentous powers with which his country had invested him, accompanied by a silent retreat to the philosophic shades of Mount-Vernon, and followed by his paternal legacy to the infant States, imposed an eternal seal on the lip of detraction, and flushed the pale cheek of envy with a deepening crimson. Every officer felt emulous to copy his General's example, though far removed from the august original. Even the common soldiers caught the flame of patriotism, and having conquered the foes of America, obtained the noblest triumph over themselves; whilst the whole army, as "if to dumb forgetfulness a prey, their pleasing, anxious public life resigned, left the loved precincts of the tented field, nor cast one longing look, except on peace." Father of Columbia! friend to the human race! rest thou for a moment from the toils of war. Virtues like thine, are destined to fill an ever active round. It is yet a very little while, and Madison shall rouse the ancient confederation to contemplate their own imbecility. A new constitution, rising as a Phoenix, from the ashes of the old, imprints the features of youth on the aspect of decay, and gives a nervous tone to the paralyzed public body, henceforward impassive of dissolution. Lo the voice of the people, that voice which Washington himself obeys, gratefully intrudes upon his beloved retreat: the united suffrages of accordant millions call forth his salvatory powers a second time: he is seated supreme at the head of the federal government, and guided by the polar star of the constitution, the momentary variation of the political magnet shall never alter his steady course. America, how immense are thy obligations to the first, the best of men!

men ! are the nations of the elder world sinking in the whirlpool of war ? does restless ambition urge the United States within the vortex ? he lifts aloft the balance of impartial neutrality and forbids the suspended scale to incline. Is the trump of rebellion blown ? has lawless anarchy unfurled her standard ? his invaluable life is hazarded in the restoration of order. Faction feels appalled at his approach. The demon of confusion hides the head, abashed. How pleasing the task to amplify this transient sketch ! but modesty declines the attempt as too arduous.

For not the muse's grandest strain,
With patriots, heroes in her train,
Can eternize such worth :
To seraph forms that task is given,
And trumpet tongues of elder heaven,
Forbid the praise of earth.

It is time that we contemplate the important consequences which have resulted to America, from the acknowledgment and confirmation of her independence. Her territorial property, guaranteed, by the treaty of 1783, includes a diversified variety of climate, combining the salutiferous extremes of northern cold, with the fructifying heats of the sultry south. Almost every natural production which is common to Europe, and many that are indigenous to this quarter of the globe have opened an extensive field for the genius of cultivation, where science may rove unfettered in her flowery researches, or virgin nature, "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art." Commerce no longer shackled by jealous restraint, spreads her snow white pinions to every gale of heaven ; now combats with the tempest brooding round the pole, or wings her dauntless way, amid the lightnings of the east. New resources of national opulence are daily unfolding ; and private enterprise has met an abundant reward. Even, the spoliations of mercantile interest, have not been without

without their public utility. The meritorious class of immediate sufferers, are very far from having been the most clamorous for hostile reprisals ; and the amiable spirit of pacific accommodation, which they generally preferred to the horrors of a continental war, will reflect the highest honor on the great body of American merchants, when the *vox et preterea nihil* of uninterested passion is forever silenced. Partial evils are inseparable from a state of warfare. The reciprocal jealousies of belligerent powers, only intent on doing the utmost possible mischief to each other, frequently induce both to leap the barriers of right, and unoffending neutrality is the innocent victim of either triumphant party. Happy, thrice happy the people, who calmly weigh their real interests in the even scale of reason, and for a while suffer individual wrong with patience, deeming it vastly preferable to universal ill. The population of the union claims our next attention. America, in the language of an ancient writer, may be styled the forge of the human race, and aided by the continual influx of emigrants, who are driven from their native homes, to seek repose beneath our shadowy pinions, must finally arrive at that infinity of numbers, which will baffle the powers of a census. The State of New-York in 1756 contained 83,233 inhabitants ; in 1777 no less than 148,124 ; an increase of nearly two for one, in fifteen years. Some parts of New-England have exceeded this ratio, and the peopling of Vermont, Kentucky, the Western Territory, and the government south of the Ohio, almost surpasses credibility. The first of these States was a pathless desert at the dawn of the late contest. It now embosoms upwards of one hundred thousand inhabitants. The second had scarcely been explored by the hunter in 1775. At present, it boasts more men than Georgia, Delaware or Rhode-Island ; and the settlements north and south of the
the

the Ohio, have been, if possible, more rapid in population than the two last pillars of the Federal Dome.

What an astonishing scene presents to the philosophic eye ! what a delightful prospect opens on the philanthropic mind ! already we see in beauteous vision, the yet untrodden wilderness, penetrated by the daring sons of bold adventure ; behold the illimited morass yield to the strong arm of hardy agriculture, and even those immense forests beyond the western plains, which are the secret haunts of Mammoth, become the future abodes of social life ; while the humanizing arts know no boundaries but the distant horizon ; and literature closes her splendid career that commenced at the portals of day, by illuminating the windows of the setting sun. At the same moment let us indulge the pleasing hope, that the inestimable blessings of our federal government, and the dignified spirit of Washington's patriotic administration, holding the olive branch of peace in his right hand, as the most valuable offering to surrounding nations ; and grasping the untarnished sword of empire with his left, in awful memento, that America is sovereign, independent and free, may shed their benignt influence on every rising republic, added to the increasing political family ; and the clustering stars of the consolidated union, eventually form one unclouded galaxy of federate glory, shining brighter and brighter to the perfect day of universal freedom.

Neither have the effects of our independence been less perceptible in Europe, than visible in America. It was a spark from the altar flame of liberty on this side of the Atlantic, which alight on the pinnacle of despotism in France, and reduced the immense fabric to ashes, in the twinkling of an eye. Then, the guarded

guarded recesses of tyranny, which had been inviolate for one hundred and seventy years, were penetrated by the majesty of man. The dread asylum of clerical domination was overturned by the spirit of freedom. The impregnable castles of a haughty noblesse were levelled in the dust of ruin. A mercenary band of foreign Janizaries, armed against the people, was completely annihilated. An intolerant system of oppressive taxation, lightened from the bending shoulders of crouching subjects. Infernal lettres de cachet, the midnight death warrant of domestic happiness, forever suspended. The armorial trappings of ancestral pride torn in pieces : and the sanctuary of lawless power uprooted from its sanguinary base. Happy, happy indeed should we be, to close the portrait here, and give to Gallic animation, the best applauses of a sister spirit. But the tragical excesses of independent mobs, the vile automations of anarchy, arrest our praise. The iron rein of self created clubs, controlling law, calls forth abhorrence. The horrid despotism of the bloody Robespierre commands our detestation. The unmerited proscription of the brave Fayette excites the indignant thrill ; and on the scaffold of Louis XVI, only known to us, in the character of a greatly needed, much loved friend, humanity turns pale, and friendship weeps. How solemn is the lecture read by France ! How awful the memento of our first ally ! To us, to us, her millions cry with trumpet tongue, " preserve the checks and balances of duly constituted power : and let not liberty verge to licentiousness." More they would say, mark other rocks, and point to different gulfs ; but tears of sensibility prevent. Her moderates mourn ten thousand lawless murders.

The revolution in Poland, conducted by the gallant Kosciuszko, the pupil of the immortal Washington, was

was a consequence, flowing from the struggles of America, and the abolition of African slavery, with the diminution of inquisitorial powers, and the suspension of the question by torture, are scyons from the parent tree of the west. To the first of these noble efforts in behalf of man, the proud Autocratix of accused despotism, whose throne is based on the quivering limbs of mangled victims, has imperiously set an everlasting seal. May the latter be eternally prospered, and Ethiopia soon stretch out her hands, filled with blessings from heaven above, and from earth beneath; while civil tyranny and religious bigotry shall weep deserted palaces, and mourn abandoned altars. To sum up all in a few words, the increasing light of knowledge, accompanied by virtue, animated of freedom, and supported by fortitude, must eventually progress, like the widely diffused rays of yon celestial luminary, under these whole heavens; and finally, in the vast expansion of the family of earth, political servitude, bending of the neck obsequious; or prostrate, kneeling in the dirt to diadems, shall be abolished by the native Majesty of the image of a GOD, rising in defence of its insulted dignity, and known no more at all, from age to age, world without end, henceforth, forever.

Rous'd by the wrongs of much forbearing man,
Some bold Montgomery yet shall dauntless rise,
Where Russian deserts hive the droning clan,
Fling Liberty's broad blaze o'er boreal skies;
And plant amid Siberia's frozen waste,
The living tree of freedom, sweet to human taste.

As yet, some Greene more sultry realms shall tread,
With banners blazoning on the face of day;
While shouting hells, nor cloth'd, nor paid, nor fed,
Rush on, where Greene and virtue point the way,
Snatch from the tyger's jaw his panting food;
And trample grim oppression's fell, Hyæna brood!

As yet some Lee where flames the torrid east,
Shall as the whirling comet speed through space;
And lightning on the eagle's blood stain'd nest,

Save

Save from his grasping fangs the fluttering race ;
While carols sweet as those of Eden's bower,
In notes extatic, hail the long expected hour.

Yes ! Man a fellow denizen with men,
Shall know no country but the boundless world :
The globe's last bourne shall open on his ken ;
And where the red gonfalon is unfurl'd,
That threats destruction to a single part,
The tribes of earth shall flock with death devoted heart.

Ever honored fathers of New-Hampshire, respected inhabitants of Portsmouth, and beloved fellow-citizens of the United States !

The improvement of the august subject, which has engaged the most candid attention, rests with yourselves. As members of the federate family, be ye persuaded, that the strength of the body politic, depends upon the harmony of its constituent parts. The spirit of extreme equality, and of rational liberty are diametrical opposites. Suffer not the best possible form of general government, which has been ratified by the unanimous suffrage of millions, to be overturned from its base, by the demon of popular jealousy, whose right hand is armed with the sword of civil war, and whose left wields the disguised sceptre of infernal tyranny. As individuals, remember the lessons of piety, religion and morality, impressed by the dying lips of your venerable forefathers, and inscribe their sacred admonitions, not on the phylacteries of a specious freedom, flowing to the loosened gales of pestiferous anarchy, but on the inmost recesses of the grateful heart, animated by unfeigned devotion to GOD, the giver of those inestimable blessings, which you liberally enjoy ; and warm with fervent love for fellow man, the fraternal participant in bounteous good. Set laudable examples of frugality, economy and industry. The sons of indolence are ever active in evil. Discountenance luxury, dissipation and pleasure ;
they

they are enervating Genii, inimical to the interests of a pure democracy. Athens strongly corroborates this momentous truth : her voluptuous spirit trembled more at the annihilation of festive sports, than at the threatened destruction of the ancient republic. : Philip was not regarded as the enemy of liberty, but feared as the foe of pleasure ; and she passed a law, which rendered it death, to convert those monies that were destined for the support of a theatre, to the salvation of a sinking state. The Baron Montesquieu has justly observed that virtue in a republic is a most simple thing : it is a love for the laws : an innate *amor patriae* : a sensation, and not a consequent of acquired knowledge : a sensation that may be felt by the lowest, as well as by the highest person in the commonwealth. Retrace the astonishing efficacy of this principle in the late arduous contest, and again reduce its wonder working energies to vital practise. America has passed the boundaries of morn : the rays of her glory are almost vertical. Every effort of the union, and of individuals ought to be combined in causing the sun of empire to stand still, that it may not haste to go down ; and nothing can effectuate this, except the potent arm of primitive simplicity, temperance and sobriety puts on strength as in ancient days, and retards the otherways descending chariot, whirling from the zenith of glory, to the nadir of declension. A celebrated writer has remarked that immoral action is the last efficient in the dissolution of republics. Trivial carelessness, slight faults, dangerous examples, small seeds of corruption and whatever does not openly violate, but secretly elude the laws ; whatever does not boldly subvert their power, but insensibly weakens their force, are the unseen moles of empire, working under cover, till the walls of beauty and the gates of praise, sapped to their foundation, tumble headlong of themselves,

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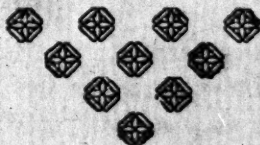
and fill the opening ditch of desolation with the mutilated fragments of ruined grandeur.

Stand, therefore, on the watch towers of virtue in the day time, nor leave the temple of public morals unguarded for a moment. Inculcate reverence, respect and obedience to the powers that are : they have been elected by the united voice of incorrupt freemen ; and if any one individual should prove unworthy of future trust, remember that he is amenable to the great body of the people ; and not to a petit tribunal, composed of a few designing characters, who snatch the balance and the rod from the only legal constituent, the sole annihilating power. Be diffident of those restless spirits who delight in foreign war, or foment internal commotions. America has nothing to gain, if victory followed her standard to Europe ; and every thing to lose, should her own household rise up as homebred foes. Learn from the example of a thousand ages, confirmed by the voice of Solomon himself, that virtue alone exalteth a nation, whilst vice uproots heroic states, and lays them low, to rise no more. Bend the whole force of education to avert such awful change. That confidence which the union reposed in the general government during the late war, imparted the strength of the arm to the extremities of the foot, and braced the whole body erect against the raging tempest. This confidence, if insensibly weakened, must affect every part of the complicate system, and at length will induce a rapid consumption of those vital energies that are essential to the health of the political frame. The watchful assiduity of nursing fathers, the unwearied solicitude of public ministers, and the invigorating aid of private citizens, are all invoked in behalf of the best interests of the mighty whole ; while the last, the tenderest, the most pathetic appeal is lodged to female

male worth, the constituted primal guardian angel of this immense confederation.

To you, my respected, honored friends, society confides the all important charge of early discipline. The opening mind is daily fashioned by your plastic powers. The future man is but the image of his first preceptors. Conscientiously discharge the glorious task assigned. Religiously fulfil the noblest duty in the sphere of life. Your animating smiles supported the desponding spirit of the war worn hero. Your soothing accents roused the dying confidence of patriots yielding to the storm. America well pleased with the past, resigns her present, future hope to the gentle influence of your refined examples; to the instructive lore of virtue's fairest precepts; and on this day, the birth day of empire, commits the children of the federal republic in solemn trust to the lovely daughters of Columbia. May heaven and earth united, give that plaudit to your meritorious toils, which woman has deserved in every age; and both pronounce, without one voice dissenting from the eulogy divine, "faithful and good, well done."

F I N I S.



made worse, the condition of the people
this country is rapidly changing.

To you, the people, I have written this letter
to tell you of the changes that are taking place
in the world. The world is changing rapidly, and
the people are changing with it. The people are
becoming more and more united, and the world
is becoming more and more peaceful. The people
are becoming more and more intelligent, and the
world is becoming more and more civilized. The
people are becoming more and more virtuous, and
the world is becoming more and more beautiful.
The people are becoming more and more happy, and
the world is becoming more and more prosperous.
The people are becoming more and more united, and
the world is becoming more and more peaceful.
The people are becoming more and more intelligent,
and the world is becoming more and more civilized.
The people are becoming more and more virtuous,
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